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ABSTRACT

In examining the question of whether the goals of both equality and internationalization can be fulfilled in Swedish education, one needs to look not only at how different educational systems develop different structures but also at how the larger social structure affects the educational system. The authors begin by reviewing the social context of Swedish education, including the formation of the modern welfare state and the internationalization of Swedish society through export trade, assistance to developing countries, and immigration of foreign workers to Sweden. Next, Swedish educational reforms promoting equality or internationalization are reviewed at the levels of compulsory, secondary, and tertiary (or higher) education. The authors then discuss the concept of equality, exploring different interpretations and evaluating the different meanings of equality used in Swedish educational policy statements. After reflecting on the concept of internationalization of education, the authors describe where equalizing and internationalizing processes are in collision and where they are in confluence. (RW)

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EQUALITY AND INTERNATIONALISM:
TWO CONCEPTS AT THE FOREFRONT OF EDUCATIONAL TRANSFORMATION IN SWEDEN?

Paper delivered at 25th Annual Meeting of the Comparative-International Education Society in Tallahassee, Florida in March 1981 and revised in October 1981

Inga Elgqvist-Saltzman Susan Opper

ABSTRACT

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In the current era of reappraisal after decades of educational reform, researchers often turn to Sweden. Its relentless and comprehensive efforts at democratizing virtually every level of education suggest an archetypical test case for assessing the promises and the pitfalls of equality. Even the main issues of educational debate in Sweden tend to circulate around interpretations of the equalizing objective. As a consequence, most analyses are rather singular in scope. Nevertheless, some research does reflect a broader dynamism in the educational process as it scrutinizes various interplays between the equalizing goal and other super-ordinate objectives such as efficiency. Both scholarly and popular debate following in this tradition are often charged by perceived consequences of what are held to be diametrically opposed objectives which unleash series of trade-off transactions. The possible conflict between the equalizing objective and another important goal in educational planning policy, namely internationalization, is a case in point. Following a certain interpretation of the goals in question it can be held that practices set in motion by the one sabotage chances of fulfilling the other. If and how this happens has hardly been the object of more rigorous analysis.
This is the essence of the following paper.

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THE CHALLENGE

Equality and internationalism are complex concepts. They are so in their own rights, in a theoretical or ontological sense. Complexity is compounded when these ideas figure in the goal statements of policy documents for education and are met with variations in interpretation among all who are involved in educational planning and instruction.

The problem of nebulous goals and of gaps between policy intentions and actual outcomes is by no means unique to educational institutions. These phenomena have led researchers in a range of different social institutions to stress that policy analysis should take greater account of the fluidity of such institutions; e.g. of the comings and goings of key actors, the fluctuating popularity of certain priorities which might be unknown to those who formulate policy statements and to the availability of resources for goal fulfillment.[1] This approach leads one into using contingency theories for analyzing educational and other social institutions.

The problem with contingency theories is that they do not offer a type of analysis which is broad enough to shed light on many of the more crucial questions concerning why or why not goals such as equality and internationalization can be fulfilled within educational contexts. On the one hand, the aspect of time is skewed toward preoccupation with the present. In so doing, analysis does not reach deeply enough into "how that which happens now is fundamentally constraincd by what went before; and likewise how the present fundamentally constrains that which comes after." This point was raised in August 1980 by British sociologist Margaret Archer[2] as she addressed an international gathering of researchers interested in studying change in educational systems. Archer maintained that in both "old" and "new" sociology there are shortcomings in theory dealing with how different educational systems develop different internal structures over time.

Archer identified a second weak point when she stated that researchers have not satisfactorily come to grips with how the overall social structure makes a difference in the way that actors in education, a social institution within the bigger social structure, actually work.

It follows that we know very little about how changes in the overall social structure can trigger educators to make changes in their own work. In this, Archer poses a similar challenge as that voiced by Torsten Husén when he asserted that:

"Educators have always been notorious in conceiving of their institutions as if they lived an entirely independent life in a socio-economic vacuum."[3]

Archer advocates linking some of the newer correspondence and contingency theories with those preferred by sociology's founding fathers (e.g. Marx, Durkheim and Weber) to analyze how and why current relationships between education and society have developed.

In summary, the question of mutual influence among different social sectors is a primary concern for Archer; as is a historical approach in studying educational change including the part that goals play in this process. Archer does not mean that it is impossible to break out a certain period for more intensive analysis. Her plea is simply to relate the analysis of any one period to more general assumptions about how different cycles affect each other.

We adopt Archer's temporal and contextual approaches in our own study of equality and internationalization in education, especially as they are seen to influence tertiary education in Sweden. First, we turn to a brief reminder of the major elements which form the general context for our study: emergence of Sweden's modern welfare state. Primary emphasis is placed upon policies in social and economic sectors which also were intended to have equalizing and internationalizing effects and whose aggregate results have affected the orientation of studies within Swedish higher education. After this, we summarize the major aspects of Swedish educational reform, beginning in the 1940's. Compulsory education comes first into focus. Discussion revolves primarily around the processes at this level — and then later on at secondary levels — which may have imposed assumptions or constraints upon both curricular content and admissions policies for tertiary education. The section on educational reforms concludes with a look at the tertiary level, at ways in which the equalizing and the internationalizing goals have been aimed directly at Swedish universities and colleges. Finally, we attempt to pinpoint in-

stances where concrete consequences of the equalizing goal represent barriers to fulfillment of (the preferred interpretation of) the internationalizing objective in tertiary education.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

Formation of the Modern Welfare State

For quite some time now, the world has been watching Sweden. Marquis Childs was doing it in the 1930's even before the country's spectacular economic acceleration in the 1960's made it hard to overlook.[4] What had impressed Childs was the Swedish obsession with organization: first workers, then management organized into different constellations which then sat down together to reason, plan and compromise the country forward in a flexible program of action to meet changing economic and social conditions within and outside of Sweden. There was general agreement among politicians that social and economic development should be sought in ways which would guarantee for everyone a satisfactory standard of living.

The Social Democrats were in power alone or in coalition from 1932 to 1976. They began their reign with a series of Keynesian policies with which they hoped to:

"... humanize Sweden's existing capitalist industrial system while increasing its efficiency. The Social Democratic reform strategy thus served two overlapping social objectives: to ameliorate individual deprivation caused by advancing age, disability, unemployment and insufficient income; and as a necessary means to that end, to accelerate Sweden's economic growth through active labor-market, monetary and fiscal policies."[5]

Security, equality, democracy, solidarity, and economic efficiency became key concepts as they lent direction to a steadily increasing number of political targets within Swedish society. Among initial priorities for the 1930's-1940's were:

- to forge an active labor market policy with the aim to eliminate unemployment (probably the issue which received most considerable and consistent attention)
- to provide incentives and subsidies in a housing policy in order to reverse great inadequacies
- to redesign family policies so that a minimum standard of care for young children could be assured and a surge upward in the birthrate might be encouraged.

Education was not made the object of major, organizational reform until after World War II.

It is generally agreed that these modern Swedish reforms emerged through long patterns of consensus building, of rational decision making and from a background in sociopolitical values which large portions of the Swedish population shared. As one Swedish researcher pointed out, the country enjoyed the benefit of one language, one race and no religion.[6)]

The internationalization of Swedish society

Foreign trade

The expansion of Swedish industry was of utmost importance to the progress of domestic reform. Skillful management, taking advantage of technological developments domestically and to an even greater extent internationally, channeled production into a limited line of high quality products and enabled such industries as LM Ericsson (telephonic equipment) and Electrolux (household appliances) to spearhead the expansion of Sweden's market internationally. The breakthrough came after the 1960's, as can be seen in the figure below:[7)]

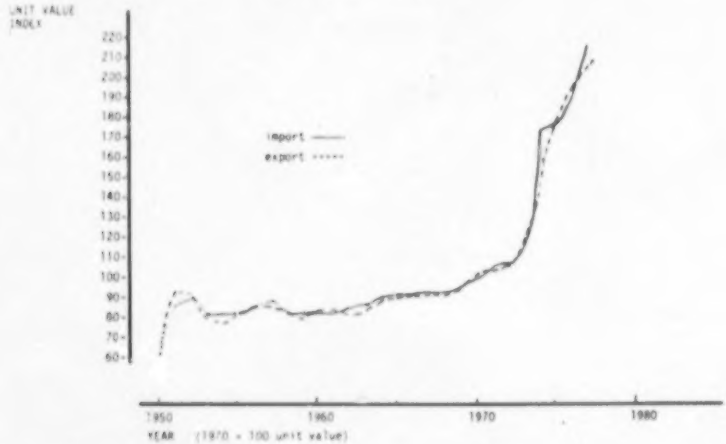


Figure 1: Swedish export/import 1950-1977. Unit value index (changes in average price of aggregate merchandise imports/exports) regulated against 1970 prices. Source: 1978 Yearbook of International Trade Statistics, vol 1. (United Nations).

The tremendous profits from business and industry (still 90% privately owned as late as 1970) were applied to further domestic expansion, to support economic and social reform – not least of all educational. The following figure reflects this escalation:[8]

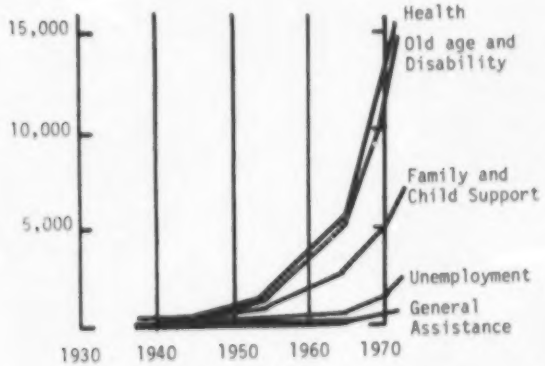


Figure 2. Social Welfare Expenditures in Sweden (in millions of Swedish crowns). Source: Hancock. "The Swedish Welfare State".

Swedish political scientist Ingemar Elander comments upon the consequences of this internationalization for Swedish society:

"... it was no longer an issue of the individual's accomodation to Swedish society; rather it was accomodation of that society to something else, more accurately speaking, to the international competition . ... The international competition serves in this case as the driving force behind development."[9]

By the beginning of the 1970's, Swedish industry had built production sites outside Sweden to such an extent that business concerns outside the mother country employed 40% of the total Swedish industrial workforce and contributed 55% of Sweden's total volume of export trade. On the whole, export made up approximately one-third of Sweden's GNP by the late 1970's [10]

Development Assistance

The internationalization of Swedish society through business and industrial expansion worldwide was joined by involvement of a somewhat different nature. This occurred through Sweden's commitment to bilateral development assistance. Lutheran missionaries had long been active in areas of Africa and Asia, but involvement on the part of the Swedish government was rather negligible until the mid 1960's. By 1976, Sweden had become the first country outside OPEC to allocate as much as 1% of its GNP to development assistance. Points of comparison are to be found in the US which spends about 0.20% of its GNP on foreign aid; OECD/DAC countries which spend, combined, 0.34% of their GNP on this kind of involvement; and OPEC countries (with the exception of Nigeria) which contribute over 1.5% of their combined GNP.[11)]

Currently, there are about twenty countries which receive bilateral assistance from the Swedish government. Most of them are located in East Africa and South East Asia. There is little geographical overlap with countries which are Sweden's primary partners in trade, as the five which answer for over half of Swedish export and import are West Germany, Great Britain, Norway, Denmark and the US. These same countries have dominated trade relations since the early days of Sweden's industrialization. Swedish trade with developing countries even as late as 1970 was relatively low by international standards.

Immigration to Sweden

Another internationalizing influence upon Sweden has come as a consequence of rather liberal immigration policies. For a long time, Sweden was considered a homogeneous country from the perspective of race, religion and even language. Even though this was not entirely accurate, most social and economic services - including education - functioned as if this were true. The situation changed radically after World War II when Sweden began to play host to great numbers of immigrants from a variety of different countries. The resulting social multiplicity is exemplified in the following figure which depicts the percentage of children in the comprehensive school with a language other than Swedish as their native tongue:[12)]

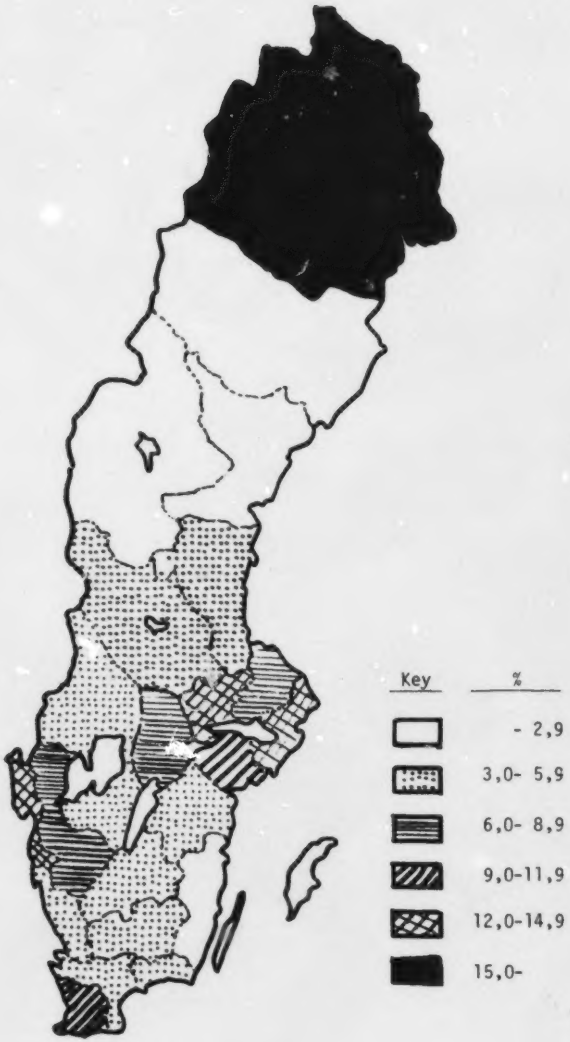


Figure 3. Compulsory school students with native language other than Swedish during the 45th week of 1979, per cent of total population compulsory school students. Source: Statistiska Centralbyrån. "Grundskolan och gymnasieskolan 1979/80." U 1980:17.

The heavily shaded portion in the northern part of Sweden indicates a high percentage of the oldest minorities: Lapps and Finnish-speaking Swedes. However, it is not these historical groups which brought minority issues to the fore by the early 1970's.[13] Rather, this was a consequence of more recent immigration during the 1960's, a time of great expansion for the Swedish labor market while other European countries were suffering economic difficulties. (See Figure 4 below).[14]

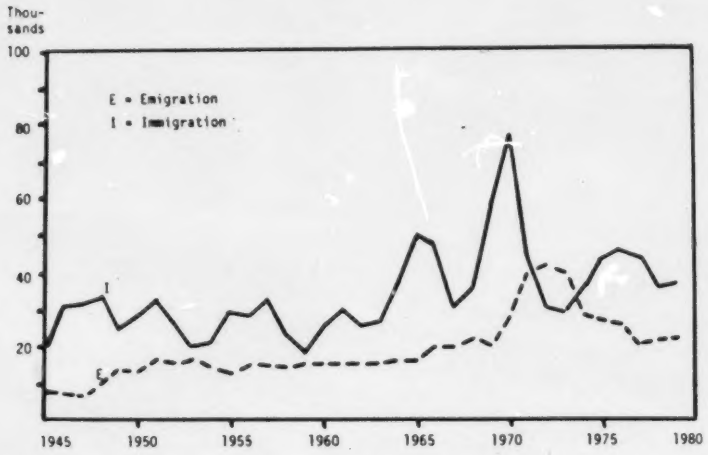


Figure 4. Immigration to and emigration from Sweden 1945-1975. Source: Statistisk årsbok.

Roughly one-fifth of the population in Sweden is currently made up of immigrants who hold permanent residence permits. The total number of immigrants would be considerably higher (about 10% of the population) if one included all people who are in the country on shorter-term permits which must be renewed approximately every six months.

The realities which lie behind these statistics have great impact upon Swedish schools and universities, but we will consider these more closely in a later section of the current paper. We turn now to educational

reform at primary and secondary levels in order to highlight those aspects which are particularly relevant for the equalization of higher education.

SWEDISH EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

National style in policy making

It was mentioned earlier that the educational system in Sweden was not made the object of major, organizational change until after a number of reforms had already been planned and initiated within other social and economic sectors. Nevertheless, even during the war years, leading politicians from all parties discussed possibilities for new orientations in education. In a sense, the trend of this thinking followed from experiences in the 1930's, when economic difficulties strengthened an already emergent preoccupation with devising better welfare schemes. Political and union activists had initially shied away from more long-range solutions as the educational system might eventually provide. The tide began to turn in the mid 1930's when Gunnar and Alva Myrdal sounded an alarm about the Swedish population crisis.[15] They argued that the country's future depended upon provision of a more economically secure and healthy environment for the country's children. Schools soon came to be used as important vehicles for the distribution of social services: food, health care and clothing. Soon thereafter, the educational system was hailed as a constructive repository for unemployed youth.[16]

It is significant to point out that most of these programs regarding somewhat different (than academic) uses of the schools originated within the Social Department during the 1930's. They were not the views of the Minister of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs at the time. Somewhat later, during the war years, the ruling approach to schools — at policy level — bore the mark of preoccupation with needs to strengthen both psyche and physique of students in the interest of national security.

An educational commission was appointed in 1940, but it was not until another was called in 1946 that a long and relentless pace of educational reform was firmly initiated. From this point on, most of the fundamental reform work which later wound up as legislation was carried out by parliamentary commissions of inquiry. The mechanics of shaping educational policies proceeded in similar fashion as for policies in other sectors. Periods of deliberative investigation by trained specialists led to the presentation of a number of policy recommendations. These

circulated widely for commentary by targeted stakeholders before consensus on outcomes was sought.

Research has later revealed that such processes do not prevent social institutions from being created or reformed in uncoordinated, piecemeal fashion in response to immediate social ills.[17] Also, analysts have found it constructive to illuminate how compromise in final stages of policy formulation often masks conflict which emerges later when policies are implemented.

Critical commentary aside, the point is that there appears to be a national style in public policy formulation in Sweden, most obviously in terms of process but to some extent also in terms of content. Processes are highly rationalistic, consensual, deliberative, and comparatively centralized.[18] Content is often radical in terms of breadth and depth of organizational change, often short-sighted in that its speculations as to consequences for neighboring sectors do not go far enough, but at the same time it is prone to base recommendations upon commissioned or otherwise available research. Perhaps even more remarkable regarding policy content are the goals of solidarity, equality, democracy and efficiency which appear ubiquitously in nearly every social and economic sector. Also worthy of note is the proclivity for policies in a number of different sectors to recommend, during any one period of time, similar measures. A particularly popular remedy during the 1970's was decentralization of decision-making within organizations and social systems.

In the midst of such similarity, it would appear that such a goal as equality in education has a chance at success since surrounding social and economic conditions point in similar directions. The same statement can be made on behalf of the internationalizing objective. Let us see how well these assumptions hold up as we look more closely at educational reform in Sweden.

Reform of compulsory education

Despite the fact that Sweden has long stressed literacy and schooling for all social groups,[19] its educational system in the 1940's did not

answer to newly emerging priorities such as democracy, defined in terms of equal participation of all citizens in shaping the society in which they were to live and work. Facilitating democracy in this way was a motivating force behind initiation of extensive reforms at primary and secondary educational levels.

Since the Social Democrats formed a majority government during such an extensive period of reform, some researchers have chosen to explain the equalization of Swedish education in political terms, i.e. as the result of "socialist" influences.[20] Recent Swedish research has underscored, however, that educational reform has been shaped through a series of compromise politics among socialist and non-socialist groups alike.[21] One example is that even as early as the 1930's, innovative thinking concerning the use of schools to fulfill social purposes took hold in a Social Department which was under the directorship of a conservative, "rightist" politician.[22]

The actual reform process for compulsory education has been examined in such great detail by so many researchers[23] that we see no need to duplicate their efforts in the present paper. Instead, we summarize policy outcomes as they have affected:

- the organization of compulsory schooling along comprehensive lines (to facilitate equality of participation for all social groups)
- the actual content of the curriculum.

Promoting equality and democracy in compulsory education

After a twelve-year experimental period which began in 1950,[24] a nine-year comprehensive school for compulsory education was established by the Education Act of 1962. Characteristic for this reform was that the superordinate aim of formal schooling was designated as "social upbringing". All students were to be provided with as much general education as possible in order to build a common foundation in cultural and political knowledge and values. This was felt to be imperative in light of their future roles in participatory democracy. Elitism in education, leading to social stratification in the labor market, could no longer be tolerated. Student-centered teaching methods were to be used, among other reasons, to engage students actively in their own learning. Training in communica-

tive skills and in collaborative group work were motivated upon similar "democratic" grounds.

In order to have enough time for additional classes in communication skills, home economics, English (from grade four, originally), mathematics and Swedish, the time spent on other subjects in natural and social sciences had to be reduced.[25)]

The new comprehensive school was expected to differentiate pedagogically as far as possible while holding off as long as possible on any sort of organizational differentiation.[26)] Nevertheless, students could select different electives in music, crafts, drawing, mathematics and languages (English and/or a second language) during the final, (third) 3-year stage of compulsory schooling. This was in no way intended as a sorting device, channeling students into theoretical or vocational studies on the basis of whether they had opted for more advanced courses in math and language. However, later research has revealed that this did indeed function as a hidden tracking system for lower secondary school (see below).

Governmental decisions in 1969 and 1978 concerning revision of the compulsory school curriculum changed this system of electives and altered the categorization of subjects. Among other things, the 1969 reform enabled students to take English as early as grade three. For grades eight and nine, English was obligatory.

Regarding the range of electives given to students in their last years of compulsory school, the 1969 reform imposed some limitations on the total number of choices. However, students could spend relatively more time than before in studying subjects of their own choice (fritt valt arbete).

Obligatory studies in natural and social sciences were no longer divided into separate subjects. They were studied in blocks such as civics. All students in the ninth grade were also to take classes which featured practical occupational orientation. It is important to note that this meshed with the 1969 proposal for reform of secondary education which also stressed occupational orientations for the curriculum. It is also in line with the planning that was going on at the same time for reform of tertiary education (see below).

For their part, comprehensive school teachers were expected to carry off all-sided, neutral and "objective" presentations of the subject matter at hand. They were not to force students to take stands on particular issues. This being the case, it is interesting that religious studies maintained their place in the curriculum over the years, despite the fact that these classes allowed many opportunities for ethical discussions.

A governmental commission in 1971 (SIA-commission) which focused upon the internal work of the school was followed up by parliamentary decisions in 1976 and 1978 to transfer educational planning responsibilities from the national government to municipalities and to schools themselves. However, the local planning was still to be conducted within the framework of a nationally established curriculum, and this occasioned some confusion, especially locally. The move to decentralize compulsory education was in keeping with policies in other social sectors and even in higher education at that time. A decentralization of authority was sought to encourage more active local involvement in the expectation that this would better answer the unique requirements of target groups and would cut down on central watch dog activity, thus reducing bureaucratic redtape. Critics of the SIA reform feared that it could open the way to pedagogical streaming which, of course, would undercut the very philosophy of the comprehensive school. Evaluations are still being conducted to assess what effects this reform really had.

Promoting internationalization in compulsory education

The 1946 Commission on Education had stressed the importance of foreign language instruction for all members of society, not just an elite group of future academics and civil servants. One can say that this was one of the earliest pleas for an internationalization of education, as it was held that capability in foreign language would be a "window to the world".[27] The foregoing summary of curricular changes attending the various reforms of compulsory education confirms that there was some follow-up on the 1946 Commission's recommendations.

A more explicit goal to internationalize education at this level did not really emerge in the national curricula until 1969. At this time, it was

stipulated that:

"Feelings of belonging, of solidarity and collective responsibility among the young must be expanded to reach beyond family, relatives, nearest friends and the school to include ever larger social groups. If this development is to pave the way for freedom and liberty among all people and help to achieve better living conditions for humankind, the school must create an understanding among the young for people's lives and conditions in countries outside their own. It must instill an appreciation of the value of sound inter-human relations and international cooperation. Thus, schoolwork should be totally oriented toward preparing students to be independent yet socially minded beings with an interest in the world around them. This should lead to personal involvement and to feelings of collective responsibility for what takes place internationally.[28]

It should be mentioned that international issues formed a very significant and obvious part of the national elections of 1968. This was in marked contrast to earlier campaigns, where international issues had made up a mere two percent of party platforms and general debate.[29] At the end of the 1960's, youth and temporary political associations were applying strong pressure upon politicians to defend positions on issues such as Swedish aid to developing countries, the US in Vietnam, and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Voting in the 1968 elections showed a record high turnot (86%). It is reasonable to assume that the spirit of the times pervaded even the work on curricular revision for the compulsory school and, as we will see later, the work of the 1968 commission on the reform of tertiary education.

When the national curriculum for the compulsory school was revised again in 1980, the wording for the internationalizing goal was changed. However, the message remained essentially the same.[30]

Reform of secondary education

Ideas which led to the reform of compulsory schooling were reflected in the reforms of secondary, vocational, higher and adult education. However, the entire reform process was not quite as well ordered as some descriptive accounts may have implied over the years. That is, the famous Swedish "rolling reform" was not exactly a process whereby changes at the secondary level were launched only after the compulsory school reforms had been implemented, and changes at tertiary level begun only when the secondary

school had been reformed. On the contrary; changes went on in several levels simultaneously. This point is brought out in the following diagram which plots the various parliamentary and departmental commissions which laid the groundwork for reform of compulsory, secondary, tertiary and teacher education along a time scale of 40 years:

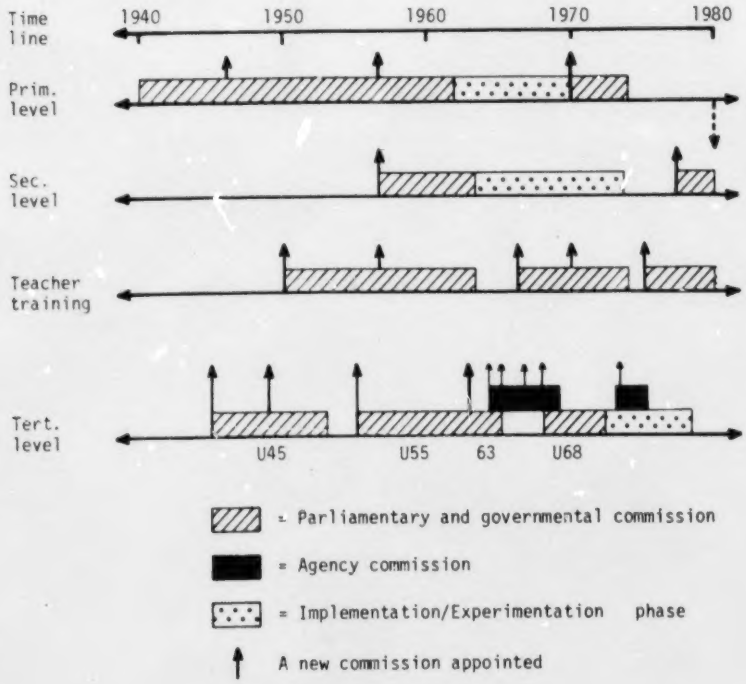


Figure 5. Major Swedish educational reforms 1940-1980 in a timeline perspective.

Coordination of programs from one level to the next was not a particularly strong feature of the reform process. There was some continuity, however, in that changes at each level tended to follow the trends and philosophies that were popular during any one period of time. A particularly long-lasting theme was that education should be "socially relevant".

As far as secondary schooling is concerned, the quest for equality was most clearly expressed in efforts to reduce the difference in status between "practical" and theoretical subjects. The reform process is marked by a concerted effort to integrate under one roof what were formerly extremely segregated versions of academic and vocational secondary schools. An important subtheme of the reform efforts was to ensure that theoretical as well as practical subjects were socially relevant. Evidence was produced to show that the labor market demanded a more even balance between the number of students trained in technical subjects, natural sciences, economics, social sciences and the humanities. It was felt that the total number of students taking courses in technical and economic fields had to be increased across the board. Furthermore, it was pointed out that in the interest of equality between the sexes, more women should be encouraged to study natural sciences. Up to this point, there had been an overload of females taking courses in the humanities and social sciences (in the academic gymnasium).

Promoting equality in secondary education

A commission was appointed in 1960 to investigate possibilities for reform.[31] Originally, this commission proposed changes that would allow certain percentages of the relevant age cohorts to enter the following categories of secondary schooling:

- 20% for the continuation school
- 30% for the academic gymnasium (5 lines of study)
- 35% for the vocational school

At this point in time, the decision had not been taken to integrate these three options.

The continuation school was actually a new form, and it did not become operational until 1964. It offered studies in humanities, social sciences, economic, mercantile trades and technology. A distinguishing feature was that a certain number of study places were reserved for people who had not completed compulsory education, but who could apply work experience or other vocational training toward their qualifications for entrance.

The academic gymnasium underwent fundamental changes as a result of the 1960 Educational Commission's work. The basis for curricular reform was to a large extent provided through the work of Urban Dahllöf. He conducted an extensive investigation of the kinds of knowledge that university teachers and employers in business and industry required of secondary school graduates.

Dahllöf's study revealed that university representatives saw good reason to improve students' study skills (especially in independent work) and to strengthen their knowledge of German and French, statistics and probability theory, as well as civics and psychology. From business and industry Dahllöf heard that improvements were warranted in students' knowledge of statistics and probability theory, psychology, civics (especially technicians), business administration (technicians and economists), English, and German (again, especially technicians). The subsequent curricular reform reflected the major thrust of these suggestions for improvement. On the whole, studies were oriented toward different sectors of working life, a practice which was later followed up in the reform of tertiary education (see below).

Finally, the vocational school offered a third option for post-compulsory studies. These had become so popular by the end of the 1960's that about 800 different courses were offered by all the vocational schools throughout the country. Because the curriculum has been determined locally and the length of study has varied according to particular student needs, a summary of curricular content is impractical for the purposes of this paper.

The 1960 Commission had recommended that only 30% of an age cohort be admitted into the academic gymnasium. Commission members did not feel the government could finance a larger operation in this area, given the new continuation school and reforms at compulsory levels were also substantial drains on federal funds. However, it soon became obvious that the sheer number of students who wanted to pursue their studies within the academic gymnasium greatly exceeded the 30% limit. A new model had to be found.

In 1969, an integrated gymnasium featuring 21 lines of study was proposed. These study programs fell under three broad categories:

- 3- and 4-year theoretical programs
- 2-year vocational programs
- 2-year theoretical programs.

All study lines were to take on an orientation toward relevant conditions and demands of working life.

The proposal was accepted by parliament, which had also decided during the previous year (1968) to abolish the student exam. The latter was replaced by class grades which were nationally calibrated by standardized achievement tests conducted during the last two years of secondary studies.

The curriculum of the gymnasium will almost certainly undergo additional changes in the near future as the result of an ongoing parliamentary commission investigation. A preliminary report from this commission is expected by December 1981.

Promoting internationalization in secondary education

The gymnasium is expected to build further upon the foundation that is provided in the compulsory school. Indirectly, this could be a call to uphold an international perspective in instruction. Otherwise, there does not appear to have been a specific drive launched to internationalize secondary education. This void will be filled somewhat when a section of the forthcoming commission report on reforming the gymnasium will treat the issue of internationalization from a multi-cultural perspective. It will advocate setting aside more time for instruction about the concept of culture, as exemplified by numerous minority groups in Sweden.

One important aspect in the preparation for international contact is, of course, language capacity. In this area, the gymnasium makes some contribution, as students are expexted to study at least two foreign languages. If they continue with the languages they started in the compulsory school, they have an opportunity for several years of continual study. What students actually retain will be addressed in a later section of this paper.

Reform of tertiary education

An era of expansion and rational planning

As the figure on page 17 shows, tertiary education has been the object of nearly continual reform since the mid-1940's. Reform activity reached a frenzied peak near the end of the 1960's, a time of tremendous increase in student enrollments (see following Figure 6).

Which were the needs that the different investigations of tertiary education tried to meet? Can we follow the same reform trends that we have identified within primary and secondary levels? Or is the reform cycle for tertiary education characterized by its own problems and goals?

The main problem the 1945 University Committee had to contend with was what could be done to prepare for an expected job shortage for academically trained people. However, during the time this committee was active, Sweden experienced a sudden economic boom which reversed earlier prognoses. It appeared instead that there would be too few academically trained people to fill jobs in economic and service sectors. New social science disciplines had to be founded, among other things to offer new degree programs in economics. Up to this point, university studies had followed the traditional categorization into faculties of law, theology, medicine and philosophy.

Enrollments increased steadily. In 1955, a University Planning Commission was appointed to propose ways in which this growing demand for higher education could be used as a positive contribution toward meeting society's need for civil servants. Facilities for higher education needed to be expanded: course selections, teaching resources, and even the physical plant per se.*

Central to the 1955 Commission's work were investigations which revealed that the drop-out rate in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences was around

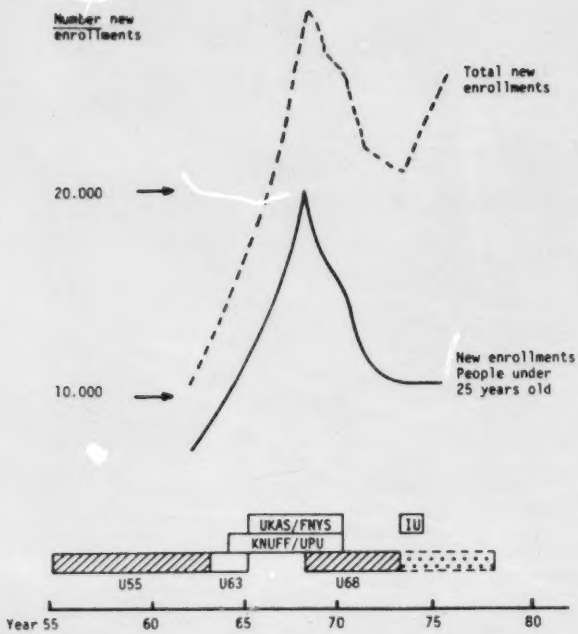
* At this point in time, there were four universities in Sweden: Uppsala, Lund, Göteborg and Stockholm.

40%, as compared with 10-15% in faculties with restricted admission (medicine and dentistry). This finding was considered to be very serious, and it sparked a series of proposals for reorganizing subject matter and teaching methods within arts and sciences. Since admission was not restricted in this sector, it was hardest hit by the explosion of student enrollments.

Reform strategies were aimed specifically at reducing the number of drop-outs and at promoting the flow of students through this particular link of the educational system. A new budgetary scheme was proposed to allocate resources according to the number of students enrolled per discipline. New types of teaching positions were recommended to strengthen the faculties and to guarantee that all students would receive adequate instruction. A reorganization of subject matter into smaller sub-courses, instruction in smaller groups, and counseling services in each department were also suggested as means by which to foster more rapid pass-rates and to curb the number of drop-outs. As a follow-up, evaluation studies including detailed statistics on student performance in different courses were proposed.

In these ways, efficiency was promoted as a major aim for higher education. This obsession rested upon an underlying value which was never questioned: that education opened the way to knowledge, the key to social and individual progress for humankind. Torgny Segerstedt – sociologist, rector of Uppsala University and head of the 1955 University Commission during the greater part of its work – expressed this philosophy in a term he coined, "The Learning Society".[32] This may be considered somewhat analogous to Daniel Bell's post-industrial society, a concept which was used widely internationally a few years later.

The prognoses made by the 1955 Uni ersity Committee were not farsighted enough, and the rate at which enrollments actually began to expand led to a certain degree of panic among educational planners (see Figure 6[33]).



Figur 6. Commission investigations on higher education in relation to number of new enrollments in higher education.

In 1960, there were 40,000 students enrolled in tertiary education. By 1965, the number rose to 65,000 and just five years later the number of students reached 130,000. Seen over a longer perspective, the percentage of 24-year olds who obtained their first academic degree rose from 1.1% in 1911 to 9.2% in 1969. Increased access to higher education appears to have been facilitated. However, the influence of absolute numbers of age cohorts upon these percentages in a longitudinal perspective must be carefully considered.

The tremendous increase in enrollments in higher education was not only remarkable from Swedish points of comparison. The rate of increase in Sweden was a record for Western Europe. What solutions were there for Swedish universities? A parliamentary investigation was commissioned in 1963 to find some answers.

The simplest way to cut back the enrollment explosion would have been to restrict admissions to the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. However, this conflicted with the prevailing view that education should be the right of all. Belief was still strong in education as the way to raise the status of individuals as well as social groups, to promote social mobility among different strata and to raise the standard of welfare for the entire nation.

Since it could not advocate a numerus clausus, the 1963 Commission chose to re-emphasize efficiency. It proposed a tighter organization of educational programs and stipulated maximum time limits for completion. As it had during its reform of primary and secondary levels, Sweden looked to the US for inspiration. The American approach of smaller course modules in higher education was recommended over the old European system of degree courses.

Occupational orientation of university education had also entered as a theme in the reform work of the 1960's, by way of two investigations (KNUFF, DYRK)* commissioned by the Office of the University Chancellor. These were to propose new training programs above and beyond teacher training, which had so far dominated the curriculum for undergraduate studies in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences.

A new curriculum for teacher training had recently been proposed as the result of a parliamentary investigation commissioned in 1960 (LUS; see figure on page 17). This commission had stressed the need for teacher education to reflect greater homogeneity and continuity than had been possible under the traditional European dual system for training a) classroom teachers and b) special subject matter teachers.[35] The nature of agreement between content of university curricula on the one hand and the content of instruction in the schools on the other was investigated in a comprehensive "congruence study".[36] This provided part of the basis for the Teacher Training Commission's proposals for revising teacher training.

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* KNUFF = "Committee for New Study Lines in the Free Faculties"
DYRK = "Committee on Vocational Courses"[34]

In stressing the concepts of relevance and occupational orientation, the congruence study was a personification of educational policy at that time. These principles were further stressed in the directives for a special planning committee appointed by the Office of the University Chancellor. This was the (in-)famous UKAS committee which in some ways can be viewed as the last step in a very rationalistic planning period for higher education, where expansion was the overwhelming need and no doubts were uttered as to the positive effects of university education. The UKAS committee was to incorporate proposals from the Teacher Training Commission, the 1963 University Committee and the KNUFF and DYRK investigations into a new program of action. UKAS was made up of directors from the newly formed administrations of the five universities, with an additional representative from the National Student Corps. As a matter of interest, it can be noted that the new educational bureaucracy which started to grow during the 1960's (following proposals from the 1955 University Commission), recruited heavily from Student Corps representatives. This was rather a natural outgrowth of situations in the 1950's, when students had been able to steer educational planning to a great extent. It was they who stressed the need for a faster pass rate in higher education. In a time of economic growth, this was very much in agreement with labor market needs.

These students cum administrators in the 1960's continued to stress efficiency and rationalization for higher education. Their approach to educational planning was very much a national affair. The tremendous period of expansion in Sweden had left little time for international outlooks. However, during the work of the UKAS committee, questions of relevance and occupational orientation of studies began to be raised. Students of the 1960's were gradually becoming influenced by the movements of their counterparts in France and West Germany. Popular debate began to reveal a new consciousness of various negative aspects of capitalist governments and therefore of the educational systems they fostered. Among students, criticism began to mount against the rationalistic approach which had so greatly characterized educational planning up to this point. One expression of this dissatisfaction came when students occupied the University of Stockholm in protest against UKAS' final proposals.

Students called for wider debate over the fundamental goals for tertiary

education. Many also demanded new methods of student participation in the planning of educational programs. In response to the latter, the Office of the University Chancellor appointed a committee (FNYS; see figure on page 17[37]) to work out some new models.

Regarding the content of the UKAS proposals, the Ministry of Education agreed to conduct a review. Within a short time, a final proposal for curricular reform emerged*, and this was adopted by parliament in 1969. This reform brought fixed lines of study, intake restrictions in certain programs, and in general a more rigid organization of studies.

During the era of expansion and rational planning internal efficiency was in focus. Changes had made studies streamlined, actions had been taken to guarantee students specially trained teachers in order to guide and assist them. A new information system had been built up by cooperation between the National Central Bureau of Statistics and the Office of University Chancellor. A considerable amount of data concerning students' choices of courses, of their attendance of lectures, of enrollment and examination rates, was supposed to be a good base for evaluation of efficiency.

However students' quest for knowledge did not always follow the same roads as educational planners had foreseen. On the basis of a series of investigations concerning students' drop-outs one of the current writers[38]) could argue that drop-out and pass-rate were not the reliable measures of efficiency that planners supposed. Analysis showed that many students never intended from the outset to complete the requirements for a degree. Educational researchers thus questioned the way efficiency was interpreted and measured during this era and claimed that qualitative aspects were missing in the evaluation process.[39])

A new era begins

In 1968, in the midst of the clamor over UKAS-PUKAS, the government appointed a commission to reconsider fundamental principles in planning

*called PUKAS, where "P" stood for Olof Palme, Minister of Education at that time.

higher education: enrollment policies, location and organization of undergraduate training, curricular planning and financing, but not research training. Following the reform of compulsory and secondary education, and after many different committees had tampered with a range of different issues in tertiary education, there was a real need to assemble a comprehensive analysis of the state of higher education. Referred to as U68, this commission was made up of four national level bureaucrats, including representation from the Department of Labor. The commission's composition implies certain congruence with earlier reforms, where emphasis was placed upon providing more education for more people, so they would have the credentials for higher status jobs.

During the early part of the 1960's, when efficiency had been the obsession in educational planning, there was no significant conflict between this aim and the goal to attain equality in educational opportunity on the part of all social groups. The reason is Sweden's economic boom during this time made it possible to keep expanding the system as the demand for education kept accelerating. At the time U68 was commissioned, there seemed to be little awareness that either economic growth or the skyrocketing enrollments in tertiary education might slacken in the future. Accordingly, U68 sponsored research on various aspects of social mobility and education. The focus was upon regional and social patterns of participation in education, and upon the distribution of education over different age categories.[40] The educational level of young people had been raised significantly. It seemed only fair that additional opportunities be extended to adults to augment the education they had received in younger days. Recurrent education soon became a popular slogan.

U68 promoted equality in educational opportunity in two ways: by reducing formal barriers to higher education and by placing work experience on par with formal schooling. The latter policy had already been initiated within the continuation school at secondary level. In 1969, it was applied on an experimental basis within the liberal arts faculties in higher education. Adults were granted eligibility if they were at least twenty-five years old and had a minimum of five years work experience. Exemptions from other formal (academic) requirements for university entrance were also made more liberally.

As the U68 Commission continued to formulate its proposals, winds began to change in the surrounding climate for educational planning. Both economic growth and increasing enrollments in higher education were no longer reality, and for the first time, serious doubts emerged as to whether social mobility really had been facilitated when the educational system was expanded to accept increasing shares of politically defined groups. We will touch upon some of the investigations which were carried out as a result of this scepticism after we review the main features of what finally emerged as the latest reform of tertiary education.

On the whole, the overarching planning goals which U68 proposed were restatements of the ubiquitous ideology which had come to pervade the entire public sector: promoting personal development, promoting private and social welfare and democratic processes, as well as preparing for social change. To this list, however, the commission added the goal of internationalization. This was a new one for higher education, and it was very much a child of the late 1960's when Sweden's preoccupation with domestic reform gave way to a considerable world watch and expanded involvement in international affairs through trade, aid and rhetoric (see earlier sections of the current paper).

In a debate pamphlet concerning the goals for higher education, the U68 commission suggested:

"Just as education can be formulated so that it contributes to strengthening solidarity within a single society or country, it should be reasonable to expect that education can be arranged so as to contribute to international solidarity and a more even distribution of goods and services among the nations of the world."[41]

The Commission found that Swedish university studies prepared students reasonably well for eventual employment involving contact with other industrialized countries. However, there appeared to be a shortcoming in the provision of instruction about developing countries and the part they play in the international system. U68 argued that this deficiency would undermine Sweden's readiness to act upon issues from an informed and truly international outlook.

The internationalizing goal was overshadowed by two major concerns which can be seen as means to fulfill the other goals more closely associated with domestic welfare. One of the two concerns was to work out a better relation between the content of university instruction and the needs of the Swedish labor market. Another major aim was to reorganize tertiary studies so that traditional academic programs were joined by more vocationally oriented ones within one integrated system. Again, this was propelled by the assumption that status differences between theoretical and practical subjects would be reduced once all were contained "under one roof".

After long and heated debate, most of the proposals from the U68 Commission were incorporated within the Higher Education Act of 1977. The newly reformed system of higher education now encompasses six major universities as well as the former university affiliates and specialized colleges such as journalism and teacher education. There are over twenty different centers for post secondary studies in the new organization.[42)]

To impose a broad occupational orientation upon undergraduate studies, courses are organized according to the following labor market sectors:

- technical
- mecical and nursing
- administrative, financial and social work
- teaching
- cultural and information professions.

Even though this was a follow-up to the pattern accepted for secondary schools, it was no small accomplishment that "social relevance" could be imposed upon the formerly theoretically oriented university departments. To strengthen chances that tertiary education would be more socially relevant, the reform called for including representatives from working life among members of curricular planning boards. Students are also represented on a number of curricular and advisory boards at various levels within tertiary institutions.

There are four options for study programs within the five new sectors. These are arranged to account for needs of the economy as well as indi-

vidual demands, and they range from general study programs established by the National Board of Universities and Colleges (UHÄ; formerly Office of the University Chancellor) to single courses which may be taken as electives. At the outset, admission within the professionally oriented studies was restricted, regulated against job opportunities. Admission to other studies was left open in order to respond to individual demand. When the number of enrollments within the free sector surpassed the instructional resources available, even these were restricted in 1980. This implies a major change in thinking, since a numerus clausus even during the peak of the student explosion in the 1960's was avoided on grounds that it would conflict with basic democratic values.

In the 1977 reform of tertiary education, decentralization was also a central concept. This was adopted from planning procedures in other social sectors, including compulsory education (see earlier). In tertiary education, decentralization assumed many forms. In one instance, it meant increased freedom for local institutions to plan their own academic programs. To facilitate this new freedom, six regional boards were established to coordinate undergraduate studies. Decentralization was also promoted by a new budgetary system which implied a change from line-item to lump-sum allocations. Finally, decentralization was achieved through a general dispersion of tertiary institutions geographically, in a manner which corresponded with population patterns.

As tertiary education was decentralized and expanded, new admissions policies were enacted to allow a greater share of the adult population to apply for studies at this level. Besides the traditional requirement: completion of three years of upper secondary school (theoretical lines) the following became sufficient qualifications:

- completion of two-year vocational or technically oriented studies at upper secondary school level or
- four years work experience where the candidate is at least 25 years old.

To complement these features, legislation was passed to allow employees the right of leave of absence for study purposes. There is also some provision for adult study grants. Consequently, recurrent education became more than a popular slogan.

This concludes our general overview of the various means by which Sweden has activated the goal of equality and internationalization at three different levels of the formal educational system. Of the two goals, equality has drawn the most attention, both within Sweden and without. In international comparisons, Sweden is often characterized as being radical in its persistence to democratize education. However, as we will see in the following section, the different twists and turns that the goal of equality has taken in Sweden do appear to have their counterparts in other countries. It is this similarity which is partly responsible for scholarly evaluations of how Sweden has fared in sorting out and judging the effects of various interpretations of the equalizing goal on actual teaching-learning situations, and upon other goals such as the internationalization of education.

THE CONCEPT OF EQUALITY

Different interpretations

The concept of equality which is so central to the educational reform era in Sweden and a great number of other countries has been interpreted in various ways in different settings, fluctuating also over time. One of the most interesting analytical frameworks which captures the variations in meaning was presented by Guy Neave at a colloquium jointly organized by the Unesco Institute for Education and the Council for Cultural Cooperation at the Council of Europe in 1978.

Neave draws a parallel between different interpretations of equal educational opportunity in our secularized time with religious debates of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He writes:

"Like the religious disputations to which it bears remarkable similarity, equality of opportunity may be conceived of in terms of four particular and distinct interpretations. These are: the predestinative interpretation, the redemptive interpretation, the dissenting interpretation and the sectarian interpretation."[43])

The predestinative interpretation allocates the individual to his station in life on the basis of a single criterion randomly distributed amongst the faithful or the school population. In a religious context, it is God's grace and in educational circles, it is some general factors of intelligence. Both are held to be fixed, immutable and hence predictable. It is exclusivist in that it assumes the majority of humankind does not possess the criterion in question. In Sweden, this was the predominant view regarding education until the mid-1940's.

The redemptive interpretation is, on the other hand, all-embracing. In the Church setting the view is that man, while fallible, is redeemable through institutional intervention. In the secular setting one talks about how intelligence may in part be a consequence of hereditary factors, but environmental influences are just as important. Intelligence is not fixed, rather it is accellerated or retarded depending upon conditions at home and school. Thus, one of the goals of the redemptive

approach which came into vogue in Western Europe during the post World II period was to remove structural barriers blocking access to education. As a consequence, compulsory and secondary education were expanded and reorganized along lines which emphasized integration over organizational differentiation.

An attack against the redemptive interpretation came at the end of the 1960's when it appeared that educational planning could not produce the results it had promised in terms of social justice. Neave describes the attackers as belonging to two different schools: 1) dissenters or social environmentalists and 2) sectarians, followers of Ivan Illich.

Both of these groups stress the influence of means of production (labor market/economic ideology) on individuals' performance, aspirations and self-perception. They hold that the concept of intelligence is not meaningful to measure as it is neither a constant nor a nominally valid criterion or indicator. In order to help the individual fulfill his or her potential, a suitable environment has to be created in education. However, the dissenting interpretation is apt to play down the centrality of the school system in promoting equal socialization for all groups. It cannot go too far in promoting change in a society which rests upon hierarchical and competitive production processes.

The social environmentalists also question the justice of limiting educational resources to a particular age group. Recurrent education schemes are advocated as is extension of institutional forms through which knowledge can be dispensed. A corollary is that a variety of coping strategies in the form of differentiated content and methodology must be devised. Social environmentalists are also anxious to identify geographical areas in which measures of positive discrimination should be introduced.

While the orthodox dissenting interpretation above is an extension of the redemptive, the sectarian position is quite another approach. The deschoolers in the US and the Freeschoolers in England advocate separation of state and education as a prerequisite to attaining equality. For sectarians, education is opposed to schooling.

In Sweden the redemptive interpretation of educational opportunity is according to Neave

"not merely the predominant orthodoxy, but is also being applied to higher education as well. Indeed, some of the Swedish legislation, particularly the parliamentary act known as 25/4, by opening higher education up to those aged 25 + who have worked full time for more than four years, seems to indicate that the Dissenters' interpretation of educational opportunity is now assuming the status of official doctrine."

Neave's approach in applying a history of ideas perspective to the concept of educational equality differs in tone from one of the major Swedish characterizations, provided by Torsten Husén. While Neave uses religious metaphors, Husén stresses political ideas connected with the transition from an elitist system of education to one where the aim is to give all people the possibility to share in the fruits of knowledge. Husén's proclivity to view educational change in political terms is understandable in light of Sweden's centralized system of education which has undergone massive changes as a result of political decisions.

While Husén was a recognized champion of comprehensive schooling, his colleague at the University of Uppsala, Wilhelm Sjöstrand, served as mouthpiece for the opposition. In Sjöstrand's estimation, the secularization of society and of education during the twentieth century contributed to a blurring of boundaries between the concept of equality and the concept of liberty.[44] Originally, liberty had stood for the opportunity for all people to develop and reach self fulfillment according to their own capacities and interests. Equality stood for the belief that all people were the same in value insofar as all were God's children. Equality set the limits for how far individual liberty could be taken.

In Sjöstrand's view, the major aim in democratizing Swedish education was to delay the point at which liberty to pursue individual interests and aptitudes was to be activated. This encouraged the concept of equality to swell beyond the bounds of its traditional meaning so that it encompassed not only messages about equal human value but about conditions for individual fulfillment as well. Views became skewed as humans were cast almost exclusively as products of their culture and social environment. Sjöstrand's primary criticism of democratizing education through

instilling a comprehensive system was that education would then fail to account for the individual differences he felt existed among people:

"Democracy, if it still intends to ground its social conceptions upon the idea of sameness in human value must find a sameness behind all the differences."[45]

Sjöstrand's criticism could not stop the process of changing the Swedish educational system in a comprehensive and redemptive direction. Gunnar Richardson[46] has in his research concerning the growth of compulsory schooling in Sweden highlighted a shift from viewing equality as selecting able individuals from all social strata into education, to equality in terms of enabling each individual to choose the type and duration of his and her own education. The same trend as regards higher education has been observed by Joseph Ben-David[47] in his comparative study of tertiary education in Western Europe. Ben-David speaks of a transition from "equal chance" to "equal share" and has found that at the end of the 1960's, concerns with individual selection into education were replaced by measures to obtain equal representation among politically defined groups. According to Ben-David, this politicization of higher education has been the supreme challenge for academic communities, accustomed as they are to thinking that science can be separated from social values. Sweden was not included in Ben-David's study but in our opinion his description fits the Swedish situation very well.

Different trends in interpreting the concept of equality in educational planning in Sweden can thus very well be followed by using Guy Neave's analytical framework. Before we in the next chapter turn to evaluation of equality we find it useful to start with a look at how the concept of equality has been treated within the framework of evaluative work on educational reforms in OECD countries. Stanford University's Henry Levin[48] participated in the OECD program and has derived four different orientations from his observations of how the equality goal has been applied:

- eqality of opportunity (access)
- equality of participation in education
- equality in educational outcomes
- equality in educational effects on one's working life.

He finds that interest has shifted over the years from preoccupation with equality of access to interest in promoting equality in educational outcome. Our own scanning of international research reveals a serious shortcoming in that relatively few discussions have centered around what equality means in terms of curricular content. Englishman Denis Lawton[49] is one of the few who has done some work in this area.

Evaluation of equality in Swedish policy statements

One of the obvious conclusions to the discussion above is that analysts must be very clear about which aspect of the equality goal they are or should be measuring in light of the intentions of original policy documents. Otherwise, the validity of subsequent statements about policy outcomes and accountability can be questioned. To put it simply, evaluations aiming to shed some light on whether equality or participation in education has been facilitated should not be conducted solely with tools that are designed to measure equality in access to education. This principle appears to be so obvious that it would hardly deserve mention. However, the last years' confusion over whether or not equality in and through education has been facilitated could imply in part that this principle is not so easy to follow in practice. Again, let us look more closely at the situation in Sweden.

From his position at the Ministry of Education's Secretariat for Future Studies, Mac Murray has reflected over developments in educational and reform planning in Sweden from the 1940's.[50] These were also processes in which he assumed a role. In his study, Murray points out that the 1946 School Commission which initiated the reform cycle in Sweden stressed equality of participation as part of the school's primary task to instruct in democratic processes. Participation was valued more highly than social mobility. A change came when Swedish educational commissions of the 1950's and 1960's put more stock in equality of opportunity and therefore directed interest toward the issue of mobility.

Mac Murray singles out a third dimension in the concept of equality in policy documents near the end of the 1960's, where it was argued that education should play a role in reducing the hierarchical structure of society, particularly as that structure is expressed and furthered in the division of labor. Equality in the sense of equal participation re-

emerged in Swedish educational policy documents of the 1970's, not least in the context of reforming higher education. At this time, recurrent education was in vogue. People were to have the opportunity to participate in education on and off as needs arose. Sweden has in fact been recognized as the first country to include the concept of recurrent education in policy documents.

Murray notes that the ideal of equal educational opportunity and the goal of social mobility have continued to dominate Swedish educational debate and evaluative efforts even after the period of tremendous expansion in the 1960's. He finds as well that policy documents have tended to support equal treatment, or "sameness", as a means for obtaining equality in educational programs. Statements indicate a decided striving toward some sort of national average in educational attainment for all social strata and for all educational levels. Planning has often taken off from conceptions of the average place, the average region, and the average student.

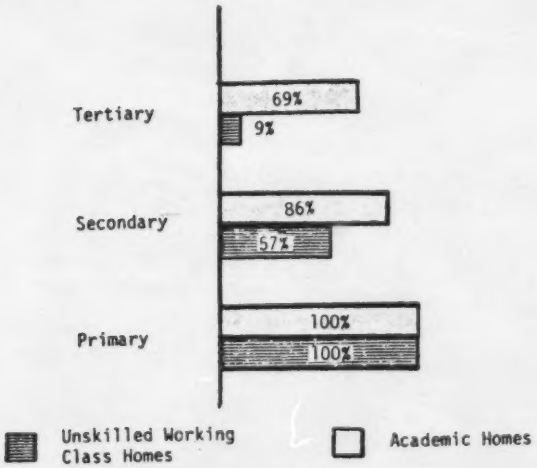
Lillemor Kim would add that the idea of uniformity in Swedish higher education policy is most clearly reflected in the admission rules.[51] These new regulations (in 1977) brought to an end the variety in modes of entrance to different educational sectors in tertiary education. In the new, uniform system, all applicants are ranked according to the same criteria: study aptitude and work experience. In addition, a highly centralized admission procedure has been implemented in order to improve "fairness" and efficiency. Kim argues that the increasing uniformity in these practices stands in contrast to other interpretations for the concept of equality, including her own. She calls for a more responsive educational environment suited to the needs of individuals and educational institutions.

Kim finds the new admissions system outstanding in respect to its emphasis on conformity. However, we find the same tendency in earlier policies as well; for example, the pass rate rules that were set up for all subjects in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Another example is the reorganization of teaching in these faculties in the late 1950's to resemble instructional patterns in the restricted faculties. Even the stipulations concerning the number of guidance hours each student was

supposed to receive add to this tendency toward conformity or equal treatment. It has been suggested that these decisions were patterned after rationalistic, industrial models of planning in the 1950's and 1960's. A similar trend toward "planning of averages" in educational programs can be seen in other Western countries as well.[52)]

When we look at evaluative efforts concerning the equality goal in Swedish education, perhaps it is not too surprising that we find an overwhelming interest in mobility studies. Many of these compare the percentage of children from academic family backgrounds with the percentage of children from working class background for different levels of education. The National Bureau of Statistics has sponsored a large project of this description, and UHÄ has supported a number of smaller investigations led by university researchers.[53)] These studies have shown that there continue to be significant differences between working class and academic families in regard to educational attainment. One illustration is the following table which captures patterns at the end of the 1970's.[54)]

Table 1. Educational Attainment by 1979 of Students Completing Compulsory Schooling 1971, for Students from Unskilled Working Class Homes and Academic Homes. Source: Adapted from SCB, 1980a, p 34; SCB, 1981, p 85.



Lillemor Kim's investigations have revealed how studies are further stratified within higher education. Three-percent of students entering selective higher education programs of the traditional kind have non-traditional backgrounds (two-year secondary education or less). By way of contrast, the "new sector", the vocational institutions which before 1977 had only weak connections with university education, recruit 70% of their students from non-traditional academic backgrounds (see table below[55]).

Table 2. The proportion of new entrants 1977 with non-traditional educational background in various types of higher education programs. Source: Lillemor Kim. "Conformity - Equality Dilemma".

	Type of higher education[1]						
	Traditional university-type h.e.			Non-university-type h.e. (selective)	All higher education with new admission rules	Other short-cycle vocational programs	All higher education
	Selective programs	Non-selective programs	Single courses				
Percent of students with							
compulsory education	1	2	12	6	8	26	13
	} 3	} 17	} 29	} 44	} 24	} 71	} 37
2-year secondary education	2	15	17	38	16	45	24
(Total number of new entrants in each group)	(3 140)	(2 480)	(9 950)	(1 850)	(17 420)	(6 730)	(24 150)

1) Traditional university-type h.e., selective programs = technology, medicin, dentistry, law, agriculture
non-selective programs = liberal arts
Non-university type h.e. = training for teaching, social work, librarian, journalism professions
Other short-cycle programs = training for nursing and other para-medical professions, colleges of art

The tables above convey the impression that the results of the past thirty years of educational reform in Sweden — where equality has received prime billing — have been rather meager. In all fairness, it must be pointed out that there appear to have been a number of positive effects as well. For example, the new compulsory school increased the rate of transition to upper secondary education and thereby reduced differences in educational attainment among urban and rural areas, and to some extent also among social strata.

On the other hand, one must question the extent to which these new patterns are only the result of educational reform. As the American educator C.Arnold Anderson pointed out in 1975,[56] one of the dangers inherent in mobility studies is that researchers often fail to account for differences in absolute numbers of the age cohorts which are being compared to check for changes in educational attainment among different social groups over time. The following figure (Fig. 7) together with Fig. 6 (p. 23) shows how impressive statistics on enrollments must be interpreted in relation to the boom in birthrate for those cohorts showing such high enrollment frequencies:[57]

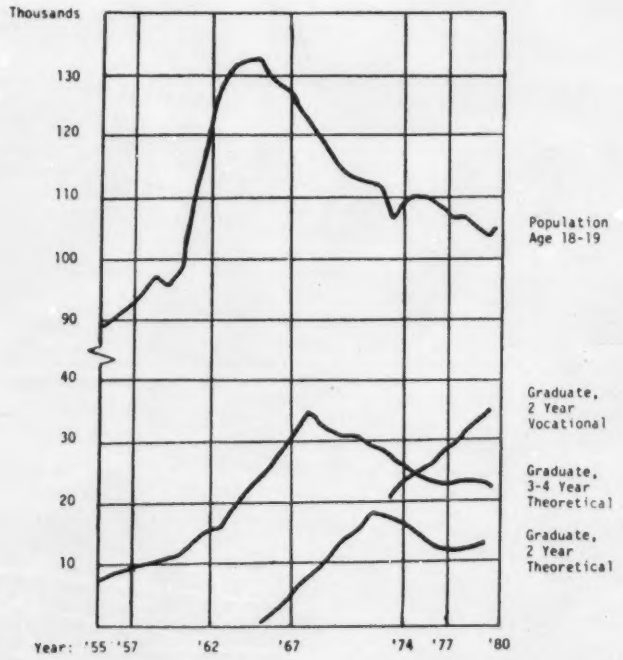


Figure 7. Population Age 18-19 and Number of Graduates from Two-Year Vocational, Three-Four-Year Theoretical, and Two-Year Theoretical Upper Secondary School Programs.
Source: Based on figures from SCB (1974) and SCB (1980b).

Another matter which must be taken into account is that the social strata which are most often compared in mobility studies – workers and academics – have very different absolute sizes.[58]

Some of the confounding of variables discussed above is undoubtedly contained within statistics which show, for example, that access to secondary education had already increased before the reform of the gymnasium was formally implemented in 1971. In 1901, the percentage of an age cohort passing the student exam was 1%. In 1968, 36.5% passed.

Concerning study patterns at secondary level, an investigation in 1972 revealed that more students from non-academic homes were taking theoretically oriented studies, as long as these students had good grades. This success in democratizing education appeared to have been accomplished at the expense of greater social stratification among students at lower levels of performance.[59]

Later on in the 1970's, the overall transition rate to the integrated upper secondary school increased and reached 80% of compulsory school graduates. At the same time, vocational lines of secondary education succeeded in attracting more females and a larger share of high-achieving students from working class backgrounds. The proportion of all enrollments in vocational lines increased in relation to the other lines of study so that at the end of the 1970's, competition was stronger within certain vocational lines than in the more theoretical studies.

The final conclusion is that a firm pattern of tracking exists in secondary school, and from Kim's investigations we see that this leads to segregation of studies in higher education. Kim's own reaction to this situation is to advocate change at secondary level which would offer students more freedom to choose educational programs according to their own interests and aptitudes.

Analyzing social mobility in regard to higher education has been made extremely difficult as a result of the decision to drop information on the social status of students' parents from educational data collection after 1977. Nevertheless, the fact that changes in the admissions rules were such essential features of the latest higher education reform has

meant that evaluations have persisted despite setbacks in available statistics.

Indeed, one of the most hotly contested aspects of the new system of higher education has been supposed consequences of the new admissions policies. And again, it is particularly the investigations conducted by Lillemor Kim which have given focus to the debate and which have already led to some adjustments in admissions regulations.[60] For example, a decision has been made to increase the quota of direct transfer students from academic lines of the gymnasium. This appears to be sought as a remedy for correcting imbalances occasioned by the combined effect of emphasis on work experience and the restricted intake for certain tertiary programs. It appears that when a greater number of "nontraditional" (older) students are admitted, competition becomes more intense among young people coming directly from the gymnasium. This seems to operate to the disadvantage of young students with non-academic backgrounds.

The rules will also be changed in 1981 so that work in clubs and similar associations will not count toward qualifications for entrance into post secondary education. This is an attempt to reduce discrimination against females, as studies revealed that females seldom could count credit from participation in voluntary organizations because they were often home caring for children. It was primarily the males who spent evenings out in various organizations.

Even though the details of Kim's results are still being discussed, general agreement can probably be reached on one point; namely that the whole issue of promoting equality through education is far more complicated than what educational optimists of the 1960's ever conceived it to be. Simply providing the opportunity for people to study does not mean they will take advantage of it, particularly if they come from non-academic backgrounds. Researchers and policy planners now feel the need to know more about people's attitudes concerning the value of education for their own lives. But even in cases where people are positively oriented toward obtaining more education, they cannot be guaranteed higher status employment at the other end. With more people moving through education and subsequently seeking high status jobs, competition naturally mounts for these positions.

An awareness of these complicated interplays began to creep into Swedish educational research during the 1970's. As a reaction against the former overload of quantitative studies regarding goal fulfillment, many researchers began to emphasize changes in values, attitudes, beliefs and motives as they set out to analyze the long-range effects of education.[61] A great deal of this research has been supported by the newly formed research and development section of UHÄ. It is within this framework that Lillemor Kim is conducting her investigations of the new admissions policies. In addition, there are a number of researchers working on more individual bases in several university departments throughout the country. One important task is to develop a data base which is not only more qualitative but also more detailed than the mass of official statistics on education which stress national averages and uniformity. Upon this new foundation, a different type of analysis can be made of the effects of education.[62]

So far, the results of Kim's investigations can encourage us to criticize the recent reform of higher education for the way it has led people to look upon equality as implying "uniformity". In a sense, Kim is reminding us that the time finally does arrive when educational programs should be differentiated. Different educational reforms have delayed the organizational and pedagogical differentiation as long as possible at primary as well as secondary educational level. In adopting the equal treatment philosophy, educational policy makers at the level of tertiary education have placed too much stress on equality as "sameness". In another interpretation, equality can also be served by variety in study options.

Gunnar Bergendal, former secretary of the U68 Commission, has come close to championing the same point as he reconsiders the idea to include all varieties of tertiary education within the same framework.[63] He finds that what was earlier thought to be a good solution to the problem of status differentials between theoretical and practical training has in fact given the more well established disciplines an opportunity to press newer sectors into one particular set of traditions: the scientific. Bergendal argues that this cripples the development of subjects in practical training areas as they find it difficult to develop along lines that would be more in keeping with their own traditions. Before they were included in the university system, these subjects operated

upon their own criteria for what was accepted as "knowledge". Their approach differed from what was accepted as fact and proper methodology in disciplines such as physics and history. Once again, measures to promote equality are seen to boil a full spectrum of approaches down to general sameness.

In sum, one can say that the way in which the goal of equality has been interpreted variously over the years has made it difficult to measure how equality "really" has been achieved within and as a consequence of education. In addition, it appears that earlier expectations that equality would be promoted through opening up educational opportunities to a larger share of politically defined groups were too optimistic in thinking that people's attitudes about the use of education in their own lives would change at about the same rate as organizational changes were made in the educational structures. This preoccupation with traditional social groups in Sweden was also a very nationalistic approach to the concept of equality. Perspectives have only recently been broadened as research has begun to focus upon effects of Swedish education for the country's immigrants.

As we turn now to the concept of internationalization, we will be especially interested in pointing out ways in which the tendency to interpret equality in terms of conformity and uniformity has given rise to trends which make it difficult to achieve an internationalization of education. Our emphasis will be upon the content of the curriculum of higher education.

THE CONCEPT OF INTERNATIONALIZING EDUCATION

The concept of internationalizing education, similarly to the equalizing concept, has assumed different forms from one country to the next, its meaning also varying over time. A detailed historical overview, cross-nationally, would lead to unnecessary prolongation at this point. For the purposes of the current paper, a brief outline of the meaning(s) of the internationalizing idea within the context of Swedish higher education is sufficient.

Internationalizing studies at the tertiary level in Sweden can be motivated upon three grounds. First, one might argue that the country's commitment to help strengthen the political independence and economic well-being of developing countries should rest on an appropriately trained (including in languages) corps of experts and upon enlightened public support. Internationalizing higher education in Sweden is therefore indirectly important to the survival of humankind. Second, the Swedish economy is tightly embedded in a net of dependency relationships outside the domestic market and treasury. At the very least, this implies saturation of jobs even in Sweden with international contact. It calls for certain types of knowledge and skills not tied to the Swedish setting. At the very most, it signals a need for very specialized international capabilities to negotiate Sweden's own survival as an economically viable nation state. Third, internationalization of higher education is necessary to ensure that Swedish instruction and research build upon latest developments in the subject areas worldwide so that the quality of science and knowledge imparted by Swedish universities is something worth having. All three of these approaches to internationalizing higher education have been promoted in Sweden in recent years. It should be noted that the possible impact of foreign students as a fourth aspect of internationalizing Swedish education has not received much attention until very recently (1979-1980).

Following mention in the work of U68 of an internationalizing objective for higher education, the Chancellor of Swedish Universities commissioned a special investigation into the need to internationalize higher education. This committee worked for two years, 1972-1974, and left in its

wake a number of suggested guidelines for change, primarily at undergraduate levels since it appeared that international mobility – conceptually as well as physically – was least apparent at that stage.

The internationalizing committee (commonly referred to as IU) held that the primary reason for internationalizing university studies arose from the need to create an allegiance to global solidarity, a sense of world citizenship among students.[64] This strikes one as being similar to the pleas for educational commissions in the 1940's to provide basic education for all students, to prepare them for participation in a democratic society. The only difference was that the IU applied this thinking to the international arena. It is all the more interesting, then , to see that IU took its stand in large measure as a result of specific requests from the universities.

The IU valued a saturation approach far more than segregation of international perspectives within special area studies or other internationally oriented courses which could be avoided by disinterested students. IU pointed out that internationalizing tertiary education could be done through more extensive use of comparative analysis in as many courses as possible, through greatly increased use of foreign literature on a regular basis (sometimes requiring short-term language courses in professional terminology to facilitate students' reading), and finally through regular use of foreign exchange and international study trips to keep motivation and experiences fresh for maintaining some sort of international perspective even in the curriculum at home.

Most of the IU proposals were left to inspire university people without any particular pressure applied from authorities, educational or otherwise.[65] However, the Swedish parliament did establish a specially earmarked internationalizing fund in 1976 as an incentive. This continued without interruption and has served as seed money for a number of new activities (detailed description follows).

Internationalization was also included among the goals established by the 1977 Higher Education Act.[66] This document explains that internationalizing is to be equated with promoting understanding of other countries and for international relations. As with most overarching goals,

the intentions are expressed so vaguely that teachers and administrators receive very little direction from the only mandate on internationalizing education to which they can be considered to be bound.

The internationalizing grant has provided a bit more direction as it specifies its use is to cover:

- costs incurred by Swedish students' studies abroad
- other costs required by teachers, administrators and students to maintain their international contacts in pursuit of stimulating and renewing education in Sweden.[67]

The added incentive with the internationalizing grant is, of course, money. The reserves are not large, but a number of new activities have been organized, primarily involving travel. It is also the internationalizing grant which has been the object of the very few Swedish evaluations ever conducted on the internationalizing idea. Most of these evaluations have therefore been descriptions of how the grant has been used, with an aim toward motivating continued funding.[68]

From these accounts we learn that the lion's share of internationalizing money has been used by students to complement Swedish studies with a stay at foreign universities for a number of weeks or even for an entire term. Other recurrent activities have been fieldwork or language training to supplement courses otherwise taught in Sweden. Teachers have also traveled to foreign universities to exchange ideas with others who teach their subjects. International travel funds for teachers not engaged in research are otherwise extremely limited.

For the most part, trips of each description above have been made to reknowned universities or sites in England, North Western Europe and the United States. One significant exception is that teacher training colleges have sought and maintained contact with people and universities in developing countries. The teacher training sector has also been a leader in making connections between a) the need to provide a dignified place for immigrants in Sweden and b) the internationalizing idea which stresses the need for inter-cultural understanding.

During 1979-1980, an official investigation of educational possibilities for Swedes expecting to work in developing countries found the universities and colleges to be of little help in this regard.[69] Particularly appalling in the Commission's estimation was the lack of language training given to undergraduates.

In the neglect of non-Anglo Saxon areas by a great number of university departments, the earlier thrust of the internationalizing drive for global solidarity lost some of its force. Another subtheme of U68 and IU – to prepare a Swedish occupational corps for unavoidable international contacts in trade and industry – has also been somewhat deflated as local educational planners and teachers show a reluctance to structure undergraduate studies with such far-sighted occupational orientation. In addition, geographical area studies and interdisciplinary courses which could offer multi-faceted analyses of issues in other countries or in international relations are in Sweden, as elsewhere, objects of great suspicion among university teachers in the established disciplines and are therefore rather rare.

The major characteristic of the internationalizing goal as it works out in practice is something which is entirely consistent with the traditional role of the university. One finds again, an expression of the phenomenon Bergendal has identified. The established disciplines within the university set the precedents in the pursuit of knowledge and in its applications. This is a role which many academics feel has been compromised through increasing use of the university for social purposes. The internationalizing funds provide new means for maintaining contact with prominent universities and scholars outside Sweden. In most of these cases, English is the medium of exchange. This orientation is so strong that it sometimes leads to rather surprising suggestions, such as the one which holds that students in all courses in all subjects should be obliged to read at least one book in English. This hardly takes into consideration the different traditions of knowledge and of application of that knowledge that are harbored within the multitudinous selection of studies at tertiary level.

EQUALIZING AND INTERNATIONALIZING PROCESSES IN COLLISION

It is this academic interpretation of internationalization that "collides" with the equalizing goal, where the latter is exemplified by consequences of policies to promote social mobility.

One example of how Swedish equalizing policies have undermined chances for internationalizing higher education lies in how changes in secondary and primary school curriculum which have reduced the total amount of instructional time in more academic subjects, have forced university teachers to spend more time than before on the fundamental facts and principles of the disciplines. University teachers claim that it takes an average of two years to build a firm base from which students can then make social applications of the subject matter. Applications are predominantly of Swedish orientation, but more advanced level courses almost always include some foreign applications as well. Since the majority of students now study for shorter periods of time at the university, they usually take introductory and intermediate level courses without ever continuing to more advanced levels. This means that they miss the more internationally oriented courses.

Another consequence of changes made in secondary schooling to reduce the elitism of academic tracks and to promote education for civic and personal development, is that language instruction was aimed at all-round competence rather than solid command predominantly for (academic) reading purposes. This is borne out in the following publication from the National Board of Education:

"The organization of foreign language study in the gymnasieskola is obviously not satisfactory. A revised programme for the longer courses of study has been presented to the Ministry by the National Board of Education. It is based on the principal that the knowledge of one or more foreign languages is a thing of equal value to everybody and proposes a minimum of two compulsory languages to be taken throughout the whole of the study course. The difficulty is that there is most need for an increased share of languages in the very lines (Nat Sc and Tech) where there is least room for them ..."

"The possibility of attaining a reasonable communicative ability in the four skills /e.g. to understand the spoken and written word to express oneself orally and in writing/ especially in the short courses, has been questioned lately by some people in university quarters who have

advocated an emphasis on the reading skill. There may be something to be said for this: achieving an all round communicative competence in the short-course languages may be Utopian. The dilemma is of course that it is so difficult to foresee which demands on their linguistic ability our young people will meet in their future careers; ... Hitherto, therefore we have stuck to the all-round competence principle, being aware that we sometimes deliver only half-baked products.[70]

Obviously, this has consequences for the degree to which foreign texts can be used as a regular part of undergraduate studies at the university. In addition, the newer student groups, people who are at least twenty-five years old (and often well over that) who have not completed theoretical studies at the gymnasium often cannot manage any other than Swedish textbooks within the time allotted for the courses they take. This is particularly true within some of the subjects which are also rather new to the university organization, such as teacher training in home economics and in leisure time activities (fritidspedagoger).

There is an increasing trend among students to combine studies with work and family. This implies additional hardships for internationalization in the academic interpretation. One problem is that students are most interested in studying subject matter that is directly related to their own working situations. Teachers find that students are seldom interested in obtaining an international comparative view upon that which is applicable to Swedish conditions. Few consider it necessary to train for a possibly more internationally oriented set of job responsibilities in the future. They recognize that many companies provide this kind of training for their employees when the need arises. These students have also avoided taking short-cycle language courses usually made available as non-credit options to studies in the other disciplines. Finally, students with job and/or family do not have the same flexibility as younger, single students in terms of time and money available for combining foreign travel with studies in Sweden.

Teachers succumb to these pressures for reasons which seem to have as much to do with limited resources (they must be efficient in moving students through their courses) as with exertion of certain pressure from students and labor market representatives on the curricular planning boards of the universities and colleges.

These are the highlights of the most common arguments regarding the perceived conflict between equality and internationalization.

EQUALIZING AND INTERNATIONALIZING PROCESSES IN CONFLUENCE

In our historical treatment of the concept of equality in Swedish educational planning, we have seen how interpretations have shifted over the past forty years. Equality in terms of participation was the original idea, at the beginning of the reform cycle. The aim was to achieve a common frame of reference among citizens, all of whom would be participating in the social and political development of the country. In fact, the 1946 Commission warned against driving another interpretation of equality too far, education for social mobility. The feeling was that this could lead to diminuation of intellectual resources within certain social groups.

Mac Murray has shown that the prevailing interpretation of equality during the peak of the reform era was not participation, but mobility. This is especially clear if we look at the amount of research conducted to analyze the extent to which equality of this variety had been facilitated. Research centered around whether or not students' educational choices had been released from their social backgrounds. Murray finds it disconcerting that so much research and general debate about equality and education in Sweden continued to focus upon meritocracy as if this were the most important aspect during all periods of reform. He contends that this was not the aim that has been advanced by the majority of policy statements over the entire forty years. The consequences have already been touched upon in an earlier section of this paper. We feel we have shown how too much research on one dimension of a certain goal can shift the focus of original aims. It helps widen the gap between policy intentions and actual practice.

The other major issue we have considered in our paper, internationalization, has not been promoted enough in policy documents and other practices to stir up very extensive evaluation. Furthermore, the small amount of money that comprises the primary manifestation of the internationalizing idea has also been interpreted by university teachers and planners as an indication of the overall priority for this goal: low.

Despite its low profile, the internationalizing goal is not without meaning for universities. Its intention — defined as a drive to re-instate

the quality of academic studies – is seen to conflict with the equalizing goal where the latter is defined as breaking down elitism among university student populations and their studies.

If we were to take the same amount of freedom as we have observed on the part of others over the years in interpreting these two goals, we could insist that they do not have to contradict each other. That is, the two goals are compatible when equality is interpreted as participation and internationalization is taken to mean informed cultural pluralism. Indeed, a parliamentary commission sounded such a theme in 1974 when it proposed guidelines for policies concerning immigrants in Sweden.[71] In the Commission's opinion, minority groups should have the right to decide how they will maintain their own cultural traditions and languages, while at the same time, they should participate in the social, political and economic development of the country as a whole. This point of view was subsequently adopted by parliament.

What does this imply for higher education? It could mean that internationalization in the interest of promoting equal participation for all people in education would lead to:

- providing special courses for immigrants;
- providing courses on minority cultures to raise the consciousness of members in the majority group;
- using immigrants as internationalizing resources in education;
- re-orienting mobility studies so they do not center exclusively upon educational opportunities for the majority population in Sweden.

Special courses for immigrants. The objective could be to achieve a variety of teaching techniques, to use a number of different languages for instruction, specially designed curricular content and so forth in order to encourage excellent scholarship on terms which fit different cultures of learners, both Swedish and non Swedish. One can pose a simple question: Is Swedish tertiary education internationalized to the extent that it accommodates the learner's culture in order to equalize educational opportunities?

The answer is no. There are a few courses arranged specifically for groups of Americans in Uppsala and Chinese students at the Technical

College of Luleå. These are exchange students, not immigrants. Courses are sporadically tailored for foreign students (including immigrants) when they happen to comprise 90% of enrollees. Also, in some teacher training programs, priority in admissions is given to bilingual applicants. However, this does not alter the predominant assimilationist approach, that students with foreign background just as Swedes are expected to conform to the study situation of the dominant culture.

Courses on minority cultures. These would be curriculum modules in multicultural studies which recognize the history and culture of minority groups in Sweden as well as various aspects of cultural confrontation. The modules could take the form of independent courses or smaller units which illuminate multicultural elements of existing courses.

Both types of approach are present at tertiary level in Sweden where the theme "migration" is studied. The first independent course in migration studies was given at the University of Göteborg in 1974. Today, ten of the country's twenty-one universities and colleges offer special courses in migration studies.

Immigrant and foreign students as internationalizing resources

Can students with foreign background contribute to the curriculum in Sweden so that it affords international perspectives without students' having to take the time and money to travel? Knowledge about conditions in other countries and of the different kinds of relations between countries and peoples would probably be something that could be gained from students with foreign background. To a great extent, one can already obtain this kind of information from literature. A more unique contribution that foreign students might be able to make would fall into the area of two categories of educational goals proposed by the IU for internationalizing the curriculum:

- attitude goals: international solidarity; open-mindedness, understanding and respect for other peoples, their cultures, values and life patterns; insight into the relativity of one's own or national circumstances, values and life patterns.

- skill goals: ability to communicate, including fluency in foreign languages and the ability to establish rapport in foreign milieux; skill in retrieving information about other countries and international conditions; ability to make comparative analyses.

Teaching styles and the organization of studies have changed somewhat through the years so that teachers no longer spend all their time standing in front of the class, remote and lecturing. Most courses include elements of independent work, either on term papers or in the laboratory. During such times there is some flexibility for students to delve into international comparisons concerning the subject matter studied. It is often at such points that students with foreign background can study aspects of their native cultures, or students can arrange to do field work outside Sweden. So far the majority of these experiences are individually enriching without having any significant impact on the general orientation and perspective from which the Swedish teachers approach their courses. In only a few instances, teachers have consciously planned to use students with foreign backgrounds as educational resources.

In the social sciences, for example, students have been able to provide points of comparison to the Swedish educational system, to Swedish work roles and sex roles etc. In language courses they have helped to familiarize Swedish students with different accents. Englishmen, Americans, Indians and Africans have been used in English courses.

Mobility studies featuring both majority and minority cultures in Sweden. As a result of the growing concern about relations between minority and majority cultures in Sweden, a number of research and/or development projects have been initiated. To name only a few which have focused specifically on education, the National Agency for Immigration and Naturalization has launched a series of activities designed to inform Swedish teachers, administrators and students at all levels of education about the social, occupational and educational situations of immigrants in Sweden. In connection with this program, an extensive battery of statistics and descriptive summaries has been compiled.

In 1979, a project group was formed within UHÄ to investigate study patterns among immigrants enrolled in tertiary education. The UHÄ group has cooperated with the Immigration Agency in the program outlined above, but this is simply one aspect of a range of objectives. The UHÄ group is interested as well in

- the extent to which immigrants feel alienated by instruction at tertiary level in Sweden;
- which social backgrounds are represented among immigrant students attending Swedish universities and colleges;
- whether or not there is a need to arrange for special instruction for immigrant groups, especially where the language would be something other than Swedish;
- the extent to which positive discrimination for immigrants is warranted in some study programs;
- the problems immigrants have in receiving credit for prior education obtained outside Sweden; and
- how to use immigrants as resources in tertiary studies.

The National Board of Education has also sponsored research and development work, most notably in the areas of bilingual education and authorship of text materials in cooperation with representatives of the countries of origin of immigrants in Sweden.

IN CONCLUSION

Political ideas such as equalizing and internationalizing Swedish education cover more behavioral possibilities than can be observed in any given region, level of education or point in time. Yet, evaluative research on such objectives has so often taken the pattern of a series of empirical snapshots which crop social and political processes to a minimum. Empirical theories thus derived do not capture many of the essential consequences that are set in motion by symbolic politics (slogan statements about political outcomes), moral visions and other indications of what is wanted at all levels of the educational system. Nor do they get at all three varieties of constraining factors for change: positive, negative and non-decisions.

The spate of investigations on social mobility and education in Sweden has diverted attention from alternative interpretations of the equality goal as highlighted in reform documents. Moreover, the tendency for Swedish educational research to follow logical-positivistic principles has resulted in a mechanical equality of opportunity interpretation of democracy. This has led to a preoccupation with structures in contrast to participatory habits, values and other processes deriving form the social functions of education.

Researchers can play a more helpful role in policy analysis if they provide a broader treatment of the context of education, including how it is shaped by the history of ideas. An important component in this approach is to weigh original goals against the demands of current conditions, among them being shifts in social composition in the schools and in society at large.

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31. Urban Dahllöf's Svensk utbildningsplanering (pp. 65-99) is the primary source for this description of educational reform at secondary level (see note 23 in the current paper). The reader is also referred to Dahllöf's Kraven på gymnasiet: Undersökningar vid universitet och högskolor i förvaltning och näringsliv. (Stockholm: Iduns Tryckeri-aktiebolag Esselte AB, 1963), also known as SOU 1963:22, Ecklesiastikdepartementet.

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33. Statistiska centralbyrån. Utbildningsstatistisk årsbok 1978. (Stockholm: Statistiska centralbyrån, 1979).

34. DYRK = Universitetskanslersämbetet. Yrkesinriktade studiekurser. Delegationen för viss yrkesutbildning vid universiteten. (Stockholm: Universitetskanslersämbetet, 1968).

    KNUFF = Akademisk sekreterarutbildning. Kommittén för nya utbildningsvägar inom de filosofiska fakulteterna. (Stockholm: Ecklesiastikdepartementet, 1961); Högre journalist- och reklamutbildning. Kommittén för nya utbildningsvägar inom de filosofiska fakulteterna. (Stockholm: Ecklesiastikdepartementet, 1961).

35. Sixten Marklund. "Educational Reform and Research in Sweden", Educational Research 9, no. 1 (November 1966): 16-21.

36. Inga Elgqvist and P.E. Brolin in SOU 1965:31. See also Marklund's "Educational Reform and Research in Sweden".

37. See Olof Ruin. Studentmakt och statsmakt: Tre studier i svensk politik. (Stockholm: Liber, 1979).

38. Inga Elgqvist-Saltzman. "Dropout and pass-rate in higher education: Are they useful measures of efficiency?" Educational Reports, Umeå n. 5 (University of Umeå, 1974).

39. Urban Dahllöf had already in 1968 argued for a reappraisal of the efficiency of the "Free Faculties". See Dahllöf, U. 1968: Examensfrekvens, studentkategori och lärosäten. En omprövning av frågan om de fria fakulteternas effektivitet. Rapporter från pedagogiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet.

40. SOU 1971:61 Val av utbildning och yrke.
SOU 1972:23 Högre utbildning – regional rekrytering och samhällsekonomiska kalkyler.

41. U68. Mål för högre utbildning. U68 Debatt. (Stockholm: Norstedt & Söner, 1969), p. 59. This pamphlet stirred up surprisingly little debate, given the fact that students had so vociferously called for a discussion of the purposes of higher education in connection with the UKAS proposals.

42. By 1966, there were six universities in Sweden. Umeå and Linköping were the newcomers during the 1960's. In addition, a number of university affiliates were opened to facilitate access. With the 1977 reform of higher education, these affiliates became colleges and thus were counted among the twenty odd sites for tertiary education. For further details, see Rune Premfors and Bertil Östergren. Systems of Higher Education: Sweden. (New York: International Council for Educational Development, 1978).

43. Guy Neave. Equality, Ideology and Educational Policy, An Essay in the History of Ideas. Occasional Papers 4. (Paris: Institut d'Education, Foundation Européene de la Culture, 1977).

44. Wilhelm Sjöstrand. Frihet och jämlikhet: Två grundbegrepp inom 60-talets svenska pedagogik. (Uppsala: Gebers, 1970), pp. 116-117.

45. Ibid., p. 130.

46. Gunnar Richardson. Svensk skolpolitik 1940-1945. Idéer och realiteter i pedagogisk debatt och politiskt handlande. (Stockholm: Liber, 1978).

47. Joseph Ben-David. Centers of Learning: Britain, France, Germany, United States. An Essay prepared for the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1977).

48. Henry Levin. "Equal Educational Opportunity in Western Europe: A Contradictory Relation", Social Problems (December 1976).

49. Denis Lawton. Education and Social Justice. Sage Studies in Social and Educational Change, Vol. 7. (London: Sage, 1977).

50. Mac Murray. Utbildning och jämlikhet: En delrapport från projektet "Prognoser och politisk framtidsplanering". (Stockholm: Sekretariatet för framtidsstudier, 1980).

51. Lillemor Kim. "Admission to Higher Education in Sweden and its Implications for Integrated Higher Education", Paper presented to the International Conference on "Integration of Higher Education: Experience and Prospect" at the Comprehensive University of Kassel (Federal Republic of Germany), September 24-26, 1981.

52. This has been the focus for a number of discussions at the International Institute for Educational Planning in Paris. See for example Michel Debeauvais. Micro-Planning: An essential Complement to Educational Macro-Planning. Working draft. (Paris: Unesco/IIEP, 1979).

53. See for example Kjell Härnqvist & Allan Svensson. Den sociala selektionen till gymnasiestadiet. (Stockholm: Jernström, 1980), also known as SOU 1980:30 Utbildningsdepartementet (Betänkande av gymnasieutredningen); Statistiska centralbyrån. "Social bakgrund och övergång till gymnasieskolans 3- och 4-åriga linjer. "Information i prognosfrågor 1976:6; Allan Svensson. Jämlikhet på gång? UHÄ-rapport 1979:9.

54. Statistiska centralbyrån. Skola för alla? Information i prognosfrågor 1980:3. En rapport om den sociala bakgrundens betydelse för ungdomens val av utbildning i grundskola, gymnasieskola och högskola. (Stockholm: Statistiska centralbyrån, 1980), p. 34.

55. Lillemor Kim. "Admission to Higher Education in Sweden and its Implications for Integrated Higher Education." (See note 51).

56. C. Arnold Anderson. "Expanding Educational Opportunities: Conceptualization and Measurement", Higher Education, 4 (1975): 393-408.

57. See Swedish Educational Statistics 1960-1973. PM 1974:3. Stockholm: National Central Bureau of Statistics and Trends and Forecasts: Population, Education and Labour Market in Sweden. Forecasting Information 1980:4.

58. See Richard Noonan and Inga Elgqvist-Saltzman. "Some Notes on the Comparison of Changes in Educational Enrollments and Transition Rates", Working paper series n. 25. (Stockholm: Institute of International Education, University of Stockholm, 1981).

59. Kjell Härnqvist & Jarl Bengtsson. Educational Reform and Educational Equality. Report n. 20. (Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg, Institute of Education, 1972).

60. Lillemor Kim. "Admission to Higher Education in Sweden and its Implications for Integrated Higher Education". (See note 51).

61. For example, Sigbrit Franke-Wikberg's research on the long-term effects of education. ("Längsiktiga effekter av högre utbildning") and Lars-Owe Dahlgren's research on the effects of tertiary studies upon students' conceptions of the world around them ("Högskolestudier och omvärldsuppfattning: En Studie av Utbildningseffekter").

Both projects are reviewed in Forskning och utvecklingsarbete för högskolan: Katalog över pågående och avslutade projekt. UHÄ-rapport 1980:26, pp. 9-10.

62. One of the current writers (Elgqvist-Saltzman) is involved in a project concerned with regional differences in educational effects upon all social strata, not only people with academic and working class background. The group in the middle – civil servants, farmers, people in handicraft industry – are studied far less frequently than the other two groups at the extremes of the social group scale. In this project, the emphasis is primarily upon female graduates from the gymnasium in 1957, 1962, and 1967. Populations are drawn from females of working class background in northern Sweden, from academic background in the Uppsala area (middle Sweden), and from agricultural/handicraft/light industrial background in the southern part of the country. From broad statistical comparative analyses over time, certain groups have been chosen for further analysis, by questionaire and interview techniques, in order to plot how these women have taken advantage of educational opportunities, how they have met obstacles in this regard and how they value education for themselves and for their children.

63. Gunnar Bergendal. "An Attempt at an International Perspective on Higher Education: The Swedish Example". Paper presented at the Oslo Seminar Program on Education in Developing Countries, 24-26 September 1981; Council for International Development Studies, Institute for Educational Research, University of Oslo.

64. Utbildningens internationalisering. Slutbetänkande från UKÄ:s internationaliseringsutredning. UKÄ-rapport no. 21 (Stockholm: UKÄ, 1974), p. 12.

65. Assertions made in this paper about the "real" meaning of internationalization follow from an extensive battery of interviews conducted with teachers and educational planners at local and national levels. Relevant documents such as course syllabi and protocol from curricular planning sessions were also reviewed. For a more detailed account, see Susan Opper. "The Internationalization of Higher Education in Sweden: Case Studies at the University of Uppsala and the University of Umeå", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia; and Susan Opper et al. Gränslös högskola. (Stockholm: Liber, 1981).

66. SFS 1977:218. Högskolelag. 2§ in Utbildningsväsendets författningsbok. Del 3. Det högre utbildningsväsendet. 1980/81. (Stockholm: Liber, 1980), p. 11.

67. Marianne Hildebrand. Användningen av internationaliseringsmedlen vid universiteten och högskolorna 1977/78 och 1978/79. UHÄ-rapport 1980:7. (Stockholm: UHÄ, 1980).

68. In addition to the report mentioned in the note above (which came about as the result of Minister of Education Jan Erik Wikström's suggestion that special ear-marked funds for internationalization should be terminated) UHÄ conducted a survey of internationalizing activities at tertiary level as part of the parliamentary investigation of Sweden's cultural and information exchange with other countries (SOU 1978:56).

69. SOU 1980:38. Utrikesdepartementet. Utbildning för uppdrag i u-land. Betänkande av U-landsutbildningsutredningen. (Stockholm: 1980).

70. Gunnar Holmberg. "Foreign Languages in Swedish Schools: A Survey". (Stockholm: National Swedish Board of Education, Information Section, 5 October 1977), mimeo, pp. 5-6.

71. SOU 1974:69. See note 13 in the current paper.

UPPSALA REPORTS ON EDUCATION

List of publications in number order:

1. Bellack, Arno A: Competing ideologies in research on teaching. September 1978.

2. Dahllöf, Urban: Curriculum evaluation, frame factors and teaching for mastery. Reprints of three articles. September 1978.

3. LOW VISION REHABILITATION. Report from the international workshop in Uppsala, Sweden, 25-27 September 1978. June 1979.

4. Holmstrand, Lars S.E.: The effects on general school achievement of early commencement of English instruction. June 1979.

5. Björklund, Stefan & Westin, Ola: The political dimension of education: The case of political science. A contribution to the 1978 Lancaster Conference on Higher Education. December 1979.

6. Dahllöf, Urban, Löfgren, Jan & Willén, Birgitta: Evaluation, recurrent education and higher education reform in Sweden. Three papers to the 1978 Lancaster Conference on Higher Education. December 1979.

7. Dahllöf, Urban: Problems of curriculum and teaching in rural schooling. Two addresses to the Conference New directions in rural education. Perth, Western Australia. November 18-25, 1979. December 1979.

8. Ryhammar, Lars & Berglund, Gösta. Children and instruction in road safety: The first paper of a research project. March 1980.

9. LOW VISION REHABILITATION II. Proceedings from the international workshop in Uppsala, Sweden, 25-27 September 1978. August 1980.

10. Berg, Gunnar & Wallin, Erik: The school in an organizational perspective. April 1981.

11. Britta Ericson. Reading disabilities and emotional disturbances. December 1981.

12. Elgqvist-Saltzman, Inga & Opper, Susan: Equality and internationalism: Two concepts at the forefront of educational transformation in Sweden? Paper delivered at 25th Annual Meeting of the Comparative-International Education Society in Tallahassee, Florida in March 1981 and revised in October 1981.